AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF A.I.D.'S PARTICIPANT TRAINING PROGRAMS IN NEPAL

A.I.D. EVALUATION SPECIAL STUDY NO. 68
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FORWARD

Since 1952, when the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) started a modest initiative in participant training in Nepal, USAID/Nepal has supported the overseas training of over 4,000 Nepalese in the United States, India, and other countries. These participants received training in a wide range of disciplines, including agriculture, rural development, education, health, population and family planning, and public administration. Training activities were designed to meet the identifiable needs of development projects and programs initiated and implemented in Nepal.

The Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) has carried out an evaluation of the overall impact of the participant training programs on the development of Nepal. The focus of this evaluation is not on the effects of a specific training activity, but on the cumulative impact of all participant training activities undertaken over three and a half decades. This task was undoubtedly extremely difficult, and certainly very ambitious. CDIE did not have any illusions about obtaining precise quantitative data to measure the impacts. Nor did it expect to establish a causal relationship between investment in human

resource development and the vast economic and social changes that have taken place on the Nepalese landscape. What CDIE did seek -- and succeeded in obtaining -- was to gain some credible evidence based on a sound research methodology to answer the question of whether participant training programs made a difference in Nepal.

CDIE commissioned Nepalese contractors to carry out three modest studies for the purpose of this evaluation. The first study was a sample survey of the participant trainees focusing on the nature of overseas training, linkages between training and career advancement, the level of skills and knowledge utilization, and participant trainees' assessment of their own contributions. The second study focused on a few selected organizations that had received a relatively large influx of participant trainees and sought to examine the trainees' roles in and contribution to the growth and functioning of these organizations. The emphasis was not on individuals but on the institutions. The third investigation involved in-depth interviews with key decision-makers, planners, educationists, political leaders, and business elites of Nepal to gather their assessment of the impact and support summarizes the major findings and recommendations of these studies.

I welcome any comments and suggestions on this report.

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SUMMARY

This report synthesizes three major evaluation studies on U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID/Nepal) participant training programs. Hundreds of interviews with trainees and their coworkers, case studies of particular institutions, and background information on Nepal's social, economic, and political structure constitute the reports.

There is no doubt that the various participant training programs have, over several decades, introduced large numbers of highly trained people into the Nepalese society. This contribution has had important ripple effects throughout the country. The net effect of the infusion of thousands of trained personnel into a poor and struggling society is to inject considerable life into the country's institutions, which, in turn, has created important multiplier effects far beyond the aggregate efforts of the individuals involved. New organizations, centered on the expertise and the ideas of the highly trained personnel, have been created. Older organizations have been infused with new ideas and new attitudes toward the work ethic and introduced to the idea of meritocracy. In short, the impact of the participant training

programs has been significant in terms of institution building, and this is an important step forward in the economic, social, and political development of the country.

Besides better trained personnel and new and stronger institutions the participant training programs have served as catalysts for ideas and skills that challenge prevailing wisdom and that are necessary for the development process to take hold. Together the introduction of highly skilled people, the building of institutions, and the diffusion of new ideas and skills into the society have produced innovative policies and programs. The participant training programs have provided many of the good ideas and approaches that bureaucrats and policymakers at higher levels can use to formulate more effective and efficient development policies. Moreover, the vast majority of the participant trainees themselves return to the governmental sector and become the very decision-makers who carry out the new policies. Considerable numbers of participants have been trained not only in substantive fields, such as crop intensity, modern education techniques, and contraceptive practices, but also in the methods of modern management, policymaking, and public administration needed to implement contemporary policies.

In short, the dominant conclusion is that Nepalese economic development -- as modest as it has been in national terms -- would have been far less without the massive participant training programs supported by USAID/Nepal over the past three decades.

Background of the Study

A bilateral agreement between the United States and the Government of Nepal was signed on January 23, 1951, through which the Mission has since contributed substantially to the development of the country's skilled personnel. The Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal indicates that by the end of 1984, the Mission had provided short- and long-term training to 3,914 Nepalese nationals. Out of these, 1,719 trained abroad for 12 or more months in the United States, India, or other countries. This evaluation focuses on this subset of participants to assess the overall impact of USAID/Nepal training programs.

This report synthesizes the findings of three evaluation studies: a sample survey of participant trainees, a set of organizational case studies, and a series of in-depth interviews on selected issues of participant training in Nepal. From the combination of these three studies and the data provided therein emerges a detailed picture of the nature and variety of USAID/ Nepal's participant training programs, the backgrounds of those who participated, the effects of these programs on Nepalese institutions, and the impact of these programs on that country's economic and social development.

Major Findings

1. Background and training experience. The individuals selected for the Mission-sponsored training programs do not reflect the Nepalese population as a whole but are, in terms of education and socioeconomic status, drawn more from the elite members of the society. The geographic representation of the participants is not uniform across all regions of the country, and it favors the Katmandu Valley and other high-population areas.

Large numbers of participants in agricultural training programs remain studying abroad for 3 years or more, whereas comparable numbers in public administration and health tend to remain for less than 2 years. The training programs may well serve to stimulate participants to pursue additional degrees or training after completing the initial program.

Participants expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the institutes and universities in which training was conducted. The levels of satisfaction are so uniformly high that it is not possible, based on the collected data, to determine which types of institutions are especially effective.

After the programs are completed, follow-up efforts to foster interaction between the participants and their former teachers or fellow trainees seem to be insufficient.

2. Overseas training and career advancement. Training had a profound and generally positive impact on the careers of the vast majority of trainees. Most eventually moved to middle and senior levels in Government agencies and public sector corporations and assume important managerial and technical responsibilities. A few rose to the highest positions such as cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries, heads of educational and research institutions, and managers of public sector enterprises or became leading intellectuals.

Nepalese Government agencies often were not prepared for the return of their personnel from overseas training programs. The participants would benefit if USAID/Nepal kept closer track of the graduates and, where appropriate, facilitated job placement for these individuals.

USAID/Nepal has placed limited and insufficient emphasis on recruiting from and placing individuals in the private sector. Strengthening this sector would be fully consistent with the goal of enhancing the country's overall economic development.

3. Knowledge and skills utilization. Although there is undisputed evidence that the trainees use their knowledge and skills in their work settings, the degree of utilization also depends on the institutional capabilities of the organizations in which they are placed. In the case of Nepal, well-known barriers to utilization included the lack of incentives in bureaucracies, inadequate support from supervisors, inappropriate assignments, poor support services, and unfavorable political climate.

Preference should be given to the selection of participants from the agencies and institutions that are in a better position to utilize the knowledge and skills of the trainees and that are willing to implement the required changes in the work environment. International donor agencies should initiate a dialogue with the Nepalese Government on barriers to participants' knowledge and skill utilization and the ways in which these barriers can be reduced, if not eliminated.

4. Contributions to the growth and functioning of orqanizations. Case studies of three institutions were completed: the Institute of Education, the Agricultural Projects Services Centre, and the Family Planning/Maternity and Child Health (FP/MCH) project.

Participant trainees have clearly played important roles in these organizations, and most present and former officials of the organizations studied were participant trainees. The Institute of Education has been continuously headed by a participant trainee. The foremost contribution of participant training has been the supply of trained cadres to staff programs, projects, and activities. The participant trainees have improved the internal strength of these organizations and provided the confidence to develop new plans and programs and to experiment with ideas in keeping with the changing needs of Nepal's development. A major consequence of the input of participant trainees is the markedly reduced reliance of these organizations on external support to develop plans and strategies.

These organizations now routinely offer specialized training programs, seminars, workshops, and orientation sessions. In addition, the research and evaluation they conduct has grown significantly.

Participant trainees raise the level of skills, the professionalism of the work ethic, the quality of the organization's standards, and the sensitivity to the need for continuous training. It is highly likely that in the absence of the participant training programs, these organizations would be operating at far lower levels of technical sophistication and operational efficiency than they are today.

5. Participant training and women. Women are decidedly underrepresented in the participant training program. Analysis of Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal data reveals that the proportion of women participants has declined over time, from 14 percent in the period 1955 to 1964 and 12 percent for 1965 through 1974, to only 4 percent from 1975 through 1984, when only 25 participants out of 562 were women. However, as a result of the recent concerted efforts of USAID/Nepal, the proportion of women trainees has significantly improved since the early 1980s. USAID/Nepal now reserves at least 25 percent of the training slots for women.

Men and women differ greatly in terms of their perceptions about the impact of participant training programs on their respective careers. Whereas the vast majority of men rate the impact of the

participant training program as "great," the ratings given by women participants are much more evenly divided between "great" and "moderate."

6. Third country training. Third country training contributed to tremendous growth in the numbers of technical staff in Nepal at a time when the country was facing a severe shortage of trained personnel in key sectors of the economy. Many major development initiatives in agriculture, health education, rural development, and family planning would not have been implemented without participant training in third countries.

Third country training in India and other neighboring countries offers several obvious advantages to Nepal. The knowledge and technical skills acquired in these countries are usually more relevant to the needs of Nepal's agrarian economy than are skills acquired in the United States. Moreover, the returning trainees do not encounter the type of culture shock faced by their counterparts who were trained in the United States. However, in advanced fields, such as computer science, management, information sciences, environmental sciences, and genetics, only the United States can provide the required training. Agriculture, rural development, forestry, education, and project and program administration can be taught effectively in third countries.

Outstanding Issues and Implications

Some of the major findings of this evaluation have implications for participant training in other countries. These are briefly mentioned below.

1. The individuals selected for training abroad may not reflect the population as a whole. In terms of education, socio-economic background, and geography, participants may be drawn from the more elite groups of the society. Women, in particular, may be markedly underrepresented. Therefore efforts should be made to develop selection procedures that would tap a more representative cross-section of the society.

2. Sponsoring agencies are often not prepared for the return of their personnel from training in other countries. Therefore Missions should discuss with the agencies their plans for the placement of participants and, to the extent possible, ensure that they are placed in positions commensurate with their skills and experience. This may reduce the "reentry problems" that many participants experience.

3. Missions should place greater emphasis on recruiting from and placing individuals in the private sector. In the past most of the resources have gone to the public sector. Such a change in focus will be consistent with the new U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) policy to encourage private enterprise in developing countries.

4. Third country training is often equal to or more effective than

training in the United States. The example of Nepal shows that such training is more relevant to the needs of host countries, is cost-effective, and involves minimal culture shock for the trainees. On the other hand, it should be recognized that high-quality training for many specialties can only be provided in the United States. Therefore efforts should be made to strike a reasonable balance between U.S. and third country training.

5. For training programs designed to assist development organizations, efforts should be made to provide training in management in addition to the required technical fields such as agriculture or engineering. The experience of Nepal shows that because of the lack of appropriate management skills and viable institutional environments, the knowledge and skills of the trainees are not always properly utilized. Management training can partly alleviate this problem.

6. Missions should develop and maintain close working relationships with participant training graduates. This can be accomplished by holding seminars, discussions, and annual meetings to which participant trainees are invited. A newsletter reporting the activities of past and current trainees can also be published if the number of participant trainees is sufficiently large.

GLOSSARY

A.I.D. - U.S. Agency for International Development

APROSC - Agricultural Projects Services Centre

FP/MCH - Family Planning/Maternity and Child Health project

IOE - Institute of Education

PL - Public Law

PT - Participant trainee

USAID/NEPAL - A.I.D. Mission in Nepal

1. INTRODUCTION

With the inception of democratic government in Nepal in 1951, the need for assistance in human resource development was immediately recognized. The United States, the world's richest and politically dominant nation after World War II, was an obvious provider of such aid. A bilateral agreement between the United States and the Government of Nepal was signed on January 23, 195l, through which the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) has since contributed substantially to the development of Nepal's skilled work

force.

The focus of the participant training program has shifted with the growth of the Nepalese economy and the changing priorities of developmental assistance. Out of the first 44 participant trainees, those trained between 1951 and 1955, 4l percent were trained in education and 27 percent in agriculture. From l956 to 196l, however, the concentration of participant training shifted toward the health and sanitation (38.5 percent) and the trade and industry (14.4 percent) sectors. In that 5-year period, there was a significant decline in the numbers of participants in the education sector (25.3 percent) and in the agricultural and natural resources sector (8 percent). The new emphasis on health was directed toward malaria eradication programs and hospital building.

After l96l greater emphasis was placed on the development of infrastructure, and agriculture claimed an increasingly larger share of the participant training program. Between l965 and l970, 49 percent of the 940 participants were in agriculture and natural resources. Between l975 and l980 this proportion rose to almost 55 percent, because of the special emphasis on enhancing food production, developing rural areas through integrated rural development projects, and protecting the environment from degradation. Thus, over the past three decades, USAID/Nepal training assistance has supported an extremely wide range of activities, including transportation systems to integrate rural and urban areas, institution building for development, education for adapting to change, agriculture for increasing production and improving crops, private sector development to achieve sustained growth, natural resources protection for ecological balance, rural development to meet basic human needs, and health and family planning.

The Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal indicates that by the end of 1984, the Mission had provided short- and long-term training to 3,914 Nepalese nationals. Of these, 1,719 trained abroad for 12 or more months in the United States, India, or other countries. This evaluation focuses on this subset of participants to assess the overall impact of USAID/Nepal participant training programs.

This assessment of the participant training program is conducted on three levels: individual, institutional, and societal. At the micro level, more than seventeen hundred Nepalese have completed these long-term programs in the last few decades. It is useful to see where they came from, what kind of training they received, and how this training ultimately affected their career development. In short, what was the impact of the participant training program on the individuals themselves? These individuals, in turn, came from and often returned to Nepalese institutions, most, but not all, of which were Government organizations. At a broader level of analysis, then, what was the effect of the

participant training programs on specific organizations? Because these programs have been conducted as Nepal has progressed through various stages of economic development, the question at the macro level is, what has been the overall effect of these programs on the fundamental evolution of the country's developmental progress?

This report is a synthesis of the findings of three evaluation studies of the USAID/Nepal participant training programs. The first of these studies was a sample survey of participant trainees, which was completed in August l987 by Professor Barthibeswor P. Timilsina and three collaborators associated with a consulting firm. The second, a set of organizational case studies, specifically focused on the impact of Mission-sponsored participant training on development in Nepal. This study, completed in December l987, was conducted by Professor Ganesh Raj Singh and four colleagues associated with the Himalayan Studies Centre in Katmandu. The third study, also conducted by researchers at the Himalayan Studies Centre, was a series of in-depth interviews on selected issues of participant training in Nepal. From the combination of these three studies and the data provided therein emerges a detailed picture of the nature and variety of USAID/Nepal's participant training programs, of the backgrounds of those who have participated, of the effects of these programs on Nepalese institutions, and of the impact of these programs on the country's economic and social development.

The remainder of this report is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an examination of the background and training experience of the participants, taking into account the socioeconomic background of the trainees, their status prior to training, and the nature of training completed. Section 3 analyzes the linkage between overseas training and career advancement, including career opportunities for new entrants, the rate of promotion immediately after training, the perceived effects of training on job placement, the relationship between training and career choices, and the tensions between career expectations and the relatively limited opportunities in Nepalese society. Section 4 reviews participants' utilization of knowledge and skills and identifies the nature and extent of -- as well as the barriers to -- skill utilization. Section 5, an assessment of the contribution of these programs to the growth and functioning of development organizations, includes both a discussion of the ways in which trainees can affect these organizations and an analysis, by means of three case studies, of the effect participant trainees have had on these organizations. Section 6 reviews women trainees, discusses their low participation in these programs, and offers a comparative analysis of men and women participants with respect to their perceived social and psychological effects, career advancement, and knowledge and skill utilization. This section also identifies priority areas for training women. Section 7 examines U.S. versus third country (here defined as

other than the host or sponsoring country) training. A comparative analysis of trainees in the United States, India, and other countries with reference to social and psychological effects, career advancement, and knowledge and skill utilization is included. And finally, Section 8 reviews the Mission's training and development efforts in Nepal and summarizes the positive and negative impacts with respect to personnel development, institution building, diffusion of new ideas and skills, and the formulation of policies and programs.

Because this report is intended for a broad audience, it avoids jargon and excessive emphasis on statistical analysis and instead highlights the principal findings of these studies and points toward their policy implications.

2. TRAINEES: BACKGROUND AND TRAINING EXPERIENCE

The discussion in this section is based on a sample survey of participant trainees. The sample survey involved responses from 356 individuals randomly selected from the USAID/Nepal Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal. Participant trainees were chosen from each of the following sectors: agriculture and natural resources, trade and industry, health and sanitation, community development, public administration, education, and transportation and communication.

2.1 Socioeconomic Background of Trainees

Two widely used measures of socioeconomic status are educational background and occupational status of the father. In the sample survey almost half (49 percent) of the fathers of the respondents had received formal education, ranging from those who completed secondary school to those who held college degrees. Of the remainder, 28 percent reported that their fathers were literate and 23 percent stated that their fathers had no formal education. The majority of the respondents were from educated or literate backgrounds in a country in which more than 7 out of 10 individuals are illiterate.

With respect to occupation, 46 percent of the total number of trainees surveyed indicated that agriculture was the principal occupation of their fathers. Service occupations accounted for 35 percent, followed by business at 15 percent. Trade and industry accounted for 1 percent, with miscellaneous categories claiming the balance of 3 percent.

The majority of the participants (72 percent) were from the central development region, with only 13 percent from the western region and 12 percent from the eastern regions. And within the central region, more than half (58 percent) were

from Katmandu. The overall impression from the data is of a group of trainees distributed in favor of Katmandu and the few additional population centers. In other words, most of the country is not significantly represented in the participant training program.

It is interesting that 32 percent of the respondents had bachelor's degrees and 18 percent had master's degrees at the time of selection. The others were only high school or intermediate (high school plus 2 years) graduates. Thus the level of educational attainment of the trainees was rather low in the past, but with the rapid expansion of higher education in Nepal, conditions have vastly improved. Now USAID/Nepal generally selects only graduate and postgraduate Nepalese for training abroad.

2.2 Duration of Training

Duration of the training varied, as Table 1 shows. Discounting those participants who were in training for less than 1 year (these were not included in the sample), roughly 40 percent trained for less than 2 years and 40 percent trained for more than 3 years. About 20 percent participated for a period of between 2 and 3 years.

Table 1 indicates obvious consistency within training areas of specialization. A solid majority (greater than 61 percent) of the individuals in agricultural training programs participated for more than 3 years. Very few trained for less than 2 years. Conversely, a large majority of individuals who specialized in education (69 percent), in health and sanitation (81 percent), and in public administration (76 percent) participated for less than 2 years.

Table 1. Training Specialization and Training Duration of Participants

Training Specialization	Less Than 2 Years	2 to 3 Years	More than 3 Years	Total
	(no. of participants)			
Agriculture	29	50	126	205
Community Development	5	2	-	7
Education	36	6	10	52
Health and Sanitation	43	7	3	53
Public Administration	16	1	4	21
Trade and Industry	7	-	5	12
Transportation	5	1	-	6
Total	141	67	148	356

Percentage of Total	40	19	42	100

2.3 Levels of Education Attained

Data about the levels of education attained by the trainees are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Levels of Education Attained by the Trainees

Educational Program	Funded by USAID/Nepal: No. of Trainees	Funded by USAID/Nepal: Percentage	Additional Education After USAID/Nepal Training: No. of Trainees	Additional Education After USAID/Nepal Training: Percentage
Ph.D.	12	3	12	36
Master's	93	26	8	24
Bachelor's	155	44	2	6
Nondegree	96	27	11	33
Total	356		33	

Table 2 shows that the majority of the trainees received their bachelor's degrees. Practically all of them went to India during the 1960s and 1970s and specialized in subjects related to agriculture. The second largest group consists of nondegree participants drawn from the agricultural, education, health, and public administration sectors. Usually they were upper- and senior-level officials of the Nepalese Government. The third group, almost equal in size to the nondegree group, comprises the master's-level trainees. These trainees came from the health and sanitation, education sanitation, education, and agricultural sectors.

One noteworthy finding is that quite a few (9 percent) of the trainees pursued studies after the completion of training. They came primarily from two groups: first, junior faculty members from Nepalese educational institutions who were awarded fellowships to complete their M.A. degrees and then continued their studies usually with teaching or research assistantships from the training institution; and second, Government officials who were initially sent for nondegree programs but decided to obtain a degree with external support. In any case, it may well be that participant training programs, in addition to directly training participants, also provided stimulus to at least

some of them to become even more highly educated.

2.4 Participant Satisfaction With Training Institution

Respondents overwhelmingly expressed satisfaction with their training institutions. The data show that 91 percent of those trained in the United States and 86 percent of those trained in India were totally satisfied. The percentage was even higher (93 percent) for those trained in other countries. Only 14 out of 356 participants indicated dissatisfaction with the selected institutions, a fact that may be indicative of the care taken by the Mission in placing its participants.

There are several reasons for the high degree of satisfaction expressed. For those trained in Indian institutions, respondents indicated that the sociocultural environment was familiar and comfortable to the Nepalese; culture shock was minimal. Moreover, the skills and knowledge learned in the Indian institutions were easily adaptable to the conditions that the participants found upon their return to Nepal. In other words, there was a high degree of training "relevance" for the Nepalese in Indian institutions. This is an especially encouraging finding. Foreign students generally experience a high degree of frustration and dissatisfaction if much of the learning, along with the effort spent acquiring it, is of little value back home. This problem appears to be minimized for Nepalese studying in Indian institutions.

With respect to U.S. institutions, the degree of expressed satisfaction was also extremely high but for different reasons. For some, to live and study in the United States was the fulfillment of a lifetime ambition. Others particularly valued the high degree of technological sophistication they acquired in the U.S. institutions.

Among the relatively few respondents who expressed dissatisfaction with their training experiences abroad, the principal reasons offered were (1) failure to be able to study in the United States, (2) inability to enroll in a long-term training program, and (3) resentment at being nominated for the program without the participant's consent.

2.5 Follow-Up Activities

One of the noteworthy and unfortunate findings of the sample survey data is the relative absence of follow-up activities and connections after the program is completed. Respondents were asked about the frequency of their posttraining professional linkages in three categories: (1) with the teaching staff of the university or institute where they received their training; (2) with fellow trainees from other countries; and (3) with other Nepalese graduates of the

training programs. Such contacts are important because they can provide a means for refresher courses and an opportunity for trainees to revisit their intellectual roots.

The data suggest, however, that these follow-up activities occur far less often than they probably should. About half (49 percent) of the respondents indicated that they had no contact with the teaching staff following completion of the training program. A slightly lower figure-44 percent -- had no contact with fellow trainees from other countries. The lowest figure -- 28 percent -- had no contact with other Nepalese graduates of the program. Those who did maintain frequent contact with these groups claim that such contact is important not only for the reasons cited above but because it can open up opportunities for further advanced study and new employment prospects. From an economist's perspective, the program can be viewed as an investment in human capital; absence of follow-up activities is equivalent to neglecting the maintenance of this capital. Follow-up activities, similar in concept to current U.S. educational perspectives about lifelong learning, should be an essential aspect of the training programs.

2.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

1. The geographic representation of the participants is not uniform across all regions of the country, and the distribution favors the Katmandu Valley and other high population areas. A concerted effort should therefore be undertaken to attract individuals from more remote regions of the nation both because these individuals are underrepresented in the programs and because they have different problems and perspectives than those of people from the more populous regions.

2. The training programs appear to serve as an impetus for participants to pursue further education.

3. There is a high degree of participant satisfaction with the institutes and universities in which training is conducted. The expressed levels of satisfaction are so uniformly high that it is not possible, based on the collected data, to determine which types of institutions are especially effective.

4. After the programs are completed, there appears to be insufficient follow-up to foster interaction between the participants and their former teachers or fellow trainees. Although such activities can admittedly be costly, an examination should be undertaken of cost-effective "graduate" functions that would be of value to the former participants.

3. TRAINING ABROAD AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

From the point of view of participants, the primary motivation for long-term training abroad is the expectation that it will contribute to their career advancement. For those fresh from a college or a university with no well-defined career paths, training can pave the way for the start of a career in the public or private sector. For those already employed, it often contributes to their obtaining better jobs, which provide more money and greater status.

There are obvious methodological problems in assessing the impact of training on careers. Probably the most important problem is in establishing causal linkages between training and career advancement. That people advanced in their careers after their training does not necessarily mean that their upward mobility resulted from it. It is quite possible that they would have advanced anyway because of their seniority, individual skills, political connections, or other factors.

The most sensible methodological approach to deal with this problem is to construct a control group of persons with similar background and experience and compare their careers with those of trainees. This course was not possible in Nepal. In the past, opportunities for higher training were generally nonexistent in the disciplines for which trainees were sent to other countries. In fact, USAID/Nepal provided support only when people could not be trained in local educational institutions. Thus it was not possible to construct a control group for making statistically valid inferences. As a result, this section of the report relies largely on the trainees' own assessments of the effects of their education and on the information and insights provided by knowledgeable students of the educational scene in Nepal. Box 1 provides examples of highly successful careers.

3.1 Career Opportunities for New Entrants

A significant proportion of trainees in Nepal were fresh entrants to the labor market and generally did not possess any work experience in their sponsoring organizations. (The Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal lists 53l such cases.) In most instances, they were high school or intermediate school (high school plus 2 years) graduates with little prospect for higher education. During the 1960s and 1970s, nearly all these trainees were selected to study agriculture in India, where they obtained their bachelor's and even master's degrees in agriculture and related sciences.

Training abroad profoundly affected the careers of these trainees. Because of it, they could pursue careers in Government and semigovernmental agencies. Although they started at junior levels, most of them could reach middle-level positions. Some of them also had other opportunities for training

abroad, which further contributed to their career advancement.

If these trainees had not received this education, their prospects for good careers would have been bleak. The job market for high school graduates was saturated, and, with the exception of those few whose families could support their higher education, they would have landed in semiskilled or menial white collar jobs with little opportunity for career advancement. Box 2 describes the career of such a trainee.

Box 1. Two Examples of Highly Successful Careers

After receiving his B.Sc. degree from Delhi University, Mr. Agricultural Economist (A.E.) joined the Ministry of Agriculture in l956, when he was awarded a fellowship to pursue advanced studies in the United States. He completed an M.Sc. degree in agriculture from Cornell University in l959 and returned to his ministry.

Mr. A.E. has had a highly successful career in Government service. He gradually ascended in the administrative hierarchy, holding such senior positions as general manager of the Agricultural Development Bank and Agricultural Inputs Corporation and chairman of the Birgunj Sugar Factory. Because of his vast experience, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization used his services as a consultant to South Yemen from l979 to l98l.

Mr. A.E. rose to become the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, the highest office a career civil servant can reach in Nepal.

In 1955, Ms. Educator (E.) was serving on the staff of the College of Education when she received a USAID/Nepal fellowship to pursue advanced studies at the University of Oregon. She obtained an M.Ed. degree from the university and returned to Nepal to teach in the college.

Ms. E. was a participant trainee for the second time in l97l. This time she enrolled in Southern Illinois University and obtained an M.A. in educational administration. On her return, she embarked on an administrative career, serving as campus chief and the assistant dean in the Institute of Education from l972 to l974. She then served as the regional director and chief of the Curriculum, Textbooks, and Supervision Center in the Ministry of Education from l974 to l982. She became the acting secretary of the Ministry of Tourism in l982 and was transferred in 1983 to the Ministry of Health. Later she also served as the secretary of the National Commission on Population and of the Ministry of Labor.

(Source: In-depth interviews)

Box 2. Career of a Recent Graduate Trainee

In 1971, Mr. Agriculturalist (A.) completed his intermediate school education and started searching for a job because he could not afford higher education. He did not have any success in a saturated market: "There were just no jobs." From a friend he learned that the Ministry of Agriculture, with the support of the USAID Mission, was sending people to India for higher education. Furthermore, it was likely he would be hired by the Government after the successful completion of the training program. Mr. A. applied and was fortunately selected for training in India.

Mr. A. studied at Punjab Agricultural University and earned his B.Sc. degree in agriculture with a specialization in agricultural extension. On his return, he was appointed as an assistant lecturer and was later promoted to the position of agricultural economist. He is presently working as a senior economist in the Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. A. also received a second fellowship from USAID/Nepal to study at the University of Florida as a nondegree scholar.

Mr. A. believes that the training positively and significantly affected his career in the Government. He stated: "While it is difficult to say how my education in India affected my career, I am sure that I would not be holding my present job had I not studied there."

(Source: Personal interview)

3.2 Promotion Shortly After Training

Promotions after successful completion of training are also an indicator of the impact of training on careers. If a participant received a promotion shortly after returning, it can be assumed with considerable justification that the training contributed, at least in part, to it.

Figure 1 presents data about promotions of trainees shortly after their return. For the purpose of the survey, a period of 9 months or less was considered a short time after return. As the figure shows, a sizable minority (the actual figure is 44 percent) of trainees received promotions, which is significant and suggests the positive impact of training. The figure also indicates that another 8 percent of trainees

were transferred without any promotions. In many instances, such transfers represented more challenging and superior assignments or were preludes to promotions.

It is interesting that the trainees in the agriculture and educational sectors fared better than those in public administration and in health and sanitation. This can be partly attributed to the fact that generally middle- and senior-level officials were sent for higher training in the latter sectors, and because jobs are scarce at these levels, it took more time before the trainees could be placed in suitable positions.

Trainees undoubtedly faced many problems in obtaining suitable positions. One common problem was that sponsoring ministries or agencies usually had not planned how and in what roles they would place the participant trainees. The sponsoring administrators postponed such decisions until the end -- until the trainees knocked at their doors. As one respondent stated: "I was forgotten as if I did not exist during my overseas sojourn. Out of sight and out of mind was an apt description of my situation. When I went to my office, my supervisor did not know what to do with me except express his happiness on my return." The bureaucratic machinery started rolling only when it encountered the immediate problem of placing the returned trainees. And it took time before it could post and promote them to jobs relevant to their training and background.

3.3 Effects of Training on Job Placement

The importance of training to the careers of participants is further evidenced in that it affected their placement not only in the first job they received upon their return, but in subsequent jobs as well. The respondents were asked to rate the effects of their training on their placement in various jobs they held upon their return. Their responses, presented in Figure 2, show that roughly half of them suggested that training "very greatly" affected their placement up to the fourth job.

Figure 2 suggests two additional points. First, the effect of training was slightly greater for placement in the second as compared with the first job. The probable explanation is that because sponsoring ministries or agencies failed to make suitable plans in advance, trainees were often asked to return to their pretraining positions. However, once they joined the service, efforts were made to transfer them to more appropriate positions.

Second, the effects of training on job placement tended to decline for succeeding positions, albeit slightly. For example, a higher proportion of trainees felt that it very much affected their placement in the first rather than in the fifth job. Such a waning impact is normal because other

factors such as seniority, work performance, and civil service eligibility tend to become more important.

3.4 Training and Career Choices

To examine the effects of training on career choices, the trainees were asked whether their careers would have been different if they had not received education outside Nepal. An overwhelming majority (68 percent) answered in the affirmative. The quotes in Box 3 provide a sample of typical responses to the question: "Do you think that your career would have been different without USAID/Nepal training?"

3.5 Overall Effects of Training

The respondents were also asked to rate the overall effects of training on their careers as highly favorable, moderately favorable, and unfavorable. The responses are as follows: highly favorable, 279 (79 percent); moderately favorable, 58 (16 percent); unfavorable, 19 (5 percent). Thus an overwhelming majority regarded the impact as highly favorable.

A few trainees who described the effects as "unfavorable" thought that without USAID/Nepal training they would have advanced to more promising careers in engineering, medicine, management, or information technology. Because the Government selected the field of their training, participant trainees pursued their studies in disciplines needed by the Government but not necessarily in those that promised maximum rewards. Moreover, the training legally bound them to work for the sponsoring ministry or agency for several years, so they were prevented from taking up other more lucrative careers. Although there is some truth in these perceptions, it should be recognized that only a few could have afforded foreign education without outside assistance.

Box 3. Trainees' Estimates of Their Careers Had They Not Had USAID/Nepal Training

"Only God knows. It is difficult to speculate about this question. I really do not know."

"The job that I am presently doing was impossible without specialized foreign training. Certainly, the USAID training changed my career."

"Do you think that I would be teaching in Tribhuvan University if I had not gone to the United States? No. I would have remained a primary school teacher."

"My whole career changed -- and changed for the better

-- because I got a degree from a prestigious university."

"In retrospect, my career suffered. I got stuck in agriculture, where the career opportunities are limited. Had I not gone to India, I would have become a civil engineer."

(Source: In-depth interviews)

Training affected participants' careers in at least three ways. First, in the case of degree programs, it provided the basic qualifications necessary for career advanvancement. In Nepal's bureaucratic setting, people cannot be promoted beyond a certain level unless they possess a degree from a recognized university. Thus, by enabling them to earn foreign degrees, training facilitated their upward mobility. The interviews reveal that this was essentially the most significant way in which training influenced individual careers in government.

Second, foreign education, especially in the United States, carried immense prestige, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s when the number of Western-educated individuals in Nepal was extremely limited. The careers of trainees undoubtedly benefited, and participant trainees' Nepalese-educated colleagues often complained of being bypassed by supervisors because they did not have a foreign degree.

Third, in many instances training provided unique skills that were in short supply. Participants who trained in management sciences, computers, electronics, and civil aviation were in a better bargaining position and were often successful in rapidly promoting their individual careers.

3.6 Careers in the Private Sector

As was indicated earlier in this section, practically all trainees were selected from and trained for the public sector. USAID/Nepal and other development agencies tended to ignore training for employment in the private sector.

Evaluation studies reveal that, for several reasons, only a minuscule number of trainees voluntarily left the Government to work in the private sector. Government service carries great prestige and recognition in Nepal's tradition bound society. People look to Government servants for help and patronage. Moreover, Government officials enjoy job security and have access to medical and retirement benefits. In addition, most of the participant trainees were trained in fields in which little if any demand existed in private enterprise, and therefore their marketability was extremely limited. Thus it is not surprising that they preferred to remain in the public sector.

In the sample survey, only nine trainees resigned their

Government jobs. Of this small group, two founded their own rural development. Three pursued both business and politics. They eventually campaigned for election and held political office. One founded a major educational college and became its principal, and another joined a growing private sector firm in a senior management position. The remaining two could not be reached for personal interviews.

Practically all of those who resigned expressed dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic setting of the Government. Their primary reason for leaving the Government was not career advancement in the narrow sense of the term but their earnest desire to do something more useful and creative for their country. They felt that their skills and expertise were not being fully utilized. Box 4 offers a brief profile of a trainee who started his own consulting firm.

Box 4. Profile of a Trainee Shifting to the Private Sector

Under a USAID/Nepal training program, Mr. Entrepreneur (E.) received his B.Sc. in agriculture from India's Udaipur Agricultural University and joined the Ministry of Agriculture in l966. He later received another fellowship from USAID/Nepal with which he obtained an M.S. in agronomy from Kansas State University. He managed to complete both the M.S. and Ph.D. programs in l977 and returned home with "great hopes of using the knowledge and skills acquired in the United States."

Mr. E. successfully held many positions in the Government, ultimately becoming the chief of a division in a public sector corporation. Despite his rapid rise, he became increasingly frustrated with the bureaucratic red tape. He always nursed the feeling that his skills and expertise were not fully utilized: "Things were too slow for my taste."

He left Government service in l983 to launch his consulting firm, which specializes in rural and agricultural development. The firm has done well and has acquired contracts with several international donor agencies, including the Mission. Mr. E. looks ahead to a bright future and is happy that he left the Government to start his own business.

(Source: Personal interview)

3.7 Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Training had a profound and generally positive

impact on the careers of the vast majority of trainees. Most eventually moved to middle- and senior-level positions in Government agencies and public sector corporations and assumed important managerial and technical responsibilities. A few rose to the highest positions, such as cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries, heads of educational and research institutions, and managers of public sector enterprises, or became leading intellectuals.

2. Nepalese Government agencies often were not prepared for the return of their personnel from training programs. If not considered undue interference, it may be appropriate for USAID/Nepal to inform Government officials well in advance of the participant's return of the type of training that the individual has received and the position that would be suitable for his or her background. This would greatly reduce the "reentry" frustrations that many participants experience.

3. USAID/Nepal should keep closer track of its graduates and, where appropriate, facilitate job placement for these individuals. This is consistent with the recommendation in the previous section to nurture the investment in human capital that has been made in support of the country's economic development.

4. The Mission should place greater emphasis on recruiting from and placing individuals in the private sector. Although this segment of Nepal's economy is still highly underdeveloped, it is growing and already includes a number of veterans of the participant training program. Strengthening this sector of the country's economy would be fully consistent with the goal of enhancing Nepal's overall economic development.

4. KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS UTILIZATION

For participants to utilize in the work setting the knowledge and skills they have acquired is undoubtedly the primary objective of training. Despite the positive effects of training on the attitudes and careers of participants, USAID/Nepal investment in training cannot be justified if trainees do not or cannot use what they have learned to contribute to better individual and organizational performance.

In analyzing the utilization of the skills and knowledge gained, it should be recognized that 83 percent of the participants were trained in colleges and universities and received graduate and undergraduate degrees. Even those who did not receive formal degrees took courses as did matriculated students; thus, although they did not acquire focused, specialized skills on a specific topic, they gained a general and broad understanding of the concepts, models, theories, methodologies, and substantive information in their disciplines.

There are three implications of such disciplinary knowledge gained during degree programs. First, it cannot be readily applied in the form it is imparted. Such knowledge is not presented the way cookbooks or manuals are written, to provide stepwise treatment of an operation. As a result, the second implication is that only a part of such knowledge can be directly utilized in specific job situations. Theoretical knowledge largely contributes to a scientific understanding of a phenomenon or process and thus is not designed for ready application. For example, extension officials, who receive master's degrees in agronomy, cannot directly use all their expertise in soil management and cropping systems on the job. At best, they use only a small portion of knowledge that is relevant to existing conditions. This, of course, is not the case when people, such as computer programmers, are trained to perform specific jobs. Third, and by contradistinction, because one acquires a broad orientation in a discipline, it is possible to apply knowledge in different working situations. For example, an agronomist who is transferred from the position of extension officer to that of analyst in an agricultural research institution will still use -- and perhaps more gainfully -- both the general and specific knowledge of the discipline.

4.1 The Nature of Knowledge and Skills Utilization

The respondents were asked to give specific instances of the changes they were able to make in their workplace that were attributable to their training. Box 5 shows a sample of the responses to the question, "Could you give examples of any changes you were able to introduce in your work which can be attributed to your training?"

Such responses as those shown in Box 5 suggest that the participants utilized their knowledge and skills for three purposes. First, they performed the technical activities that were required of them. Such application of knowledge and skills was simple and straightforward, as in introducing new cataloging systems in libraries, maintaining computer or food storage facilities, and using more sophisticated printing presses. These examples of technical expertise reflect training that just was not available in Nepal. The importance of this type of utilization is widely recognized.

Second, and undoubtedly more difficult, the trainees established new units in existing organizations or even founded organizations. In such instances, the application involved more creative and imaginative use of the trainee's knowledge, skills, and experience than did the more mechanical techniques described above. Examples such as introducing a training and visitation extension system, helping establish a faculty of management and business administration, and founding an agricultural experiment station fall within the broad category of institution building.

Box 5. Participants' Work Changes That Were Attributable to Training

"I spread the idea about nematodes and fumigation, which was not widely known here."

"I introduced new technology for livestock farming."

"Wrote three textbooks for high school students and one reference book for certificate-level students in agriculture. Also produced several research papers."

"Introduced a Mexican dwarf wheat variety that contributes to significant increases in production."

"I utilized my training in mass communication at Columbia University for organizing training programs in mass education."

"I upgraded and renovated printing facilities at Janak Education Material Center."

"I successfully pushed for establishing a guidance and counseling unit on an experimental basis in my school."

"I could contribute to the establishment of the faculty of the master's program in management and business administration in the university."

"I introduced the project monitoring and management information system, which was widely appreciated by the World Bank."

"I was instrumental in revising the whole curriculum in the training college."

(Source: Sample survey of participant trainees)

Third, newly acquired knowledge and skills were applied by educators -- trainers, teachers, and professors. Quite a few of the trainees joined the education profession and disseminated their knowledge and expertise to students. More important, they contributed to the growth of endogenously based knowledge and skills through their research and publications. Thus, the training had multiplier effects that contributed to the development of trained personnel.

4.2 Extent of Knowledge and Skills Utilization

The focus of the survey was not only on the first job but on all the jobs that participants held after completing their training. Asked about the extent to which they utilized their knowledge and skills in their jobs, participants responded as shown in Figure 3. The data indicate that although the extent of the utilization of the knowledge and skills has been moderate, the trainees have continued to practice their skills throughout their careers.

Some variations in the extent of the utilization of knowledge and skills across sectors are discernible in the data presented in Figure 4. These data relate to only the first job; the small number of cases did not permit a meaningful analysis for the succeeding jobs held by the trainees. Figure 4 shows that the trainees in public administration ranked first in using their knowledge and skills to the highest degree and that health and sanitation trainees ranked second. The "Other" sector includes those trained in community development, trade or industry, and transportation.

4.3 Barriers to the Utilization of Skills

The participants were asked to rate a set of factors that are commonly identified as the major barriers to the utilization of their knowledge and skills. The responses are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Barriers to the Utilization of Knowledge and Skills

	Major		Moderate		Negligible	
Barrier	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Lack of Incentives	229	(64)	l09	(3l)	18	(5)
Lack of Support Services	177	(50)	l59	(45)	20	(6)
Institutional/Political Resistance	119	(33)	l65	(46)	72	(20)
Lack of Trained Staff	l0l	(28)	2l3	(60)	42	(l2)
Resistance to Ideas	94	(26)	202	(57)	60	(l7)
Lack of Time	l8	(5)	l03	(29)	235	(66)
Others	l5	(28)	22	(42)	l6	(30)

Note: No. refers to number of respondents.

In addition, open-ended questions about barriers were also asked in sample surveys and in-depth interviews. Box 6 presents a sample of reasons participants offered about their

inability to use their knowledge and skills.

Box 6. Reasons for the Poor Utilization of Knowledge and Skills

"People cannot use their knowledge because of the autocratic nature, inefficiency, and inability of senior administrators and decision-makers. They penalize those who work."

"What is the incentive? You only antagonize your superiors."

"I specialized in horticulture, but am presently working in the field of agronomy."

"As per my area of specialization, I was supposed to conduct field research for producing new and more productive crops. Fortunately or unfortunately, I am presently involved in producing socioeconomic reports rather than new crop varieties."

"There are no facilities, no resources. One cannot utilize one's expertise and skills in such situations."

"I am supposed to do farming system research, but there is no money. I cannot do anything."

"Some of the technologies I learned are quite sophisticated but not suitable to the needs of the country."

"The organizational decision-making is very traditional. It prevents the incorporation of new ideas and practices."

"Most of the trainees are not creative and remain content with the present conditions. They also become frustrated because they are not promoted."

"We are interested in promoting our own careers rather than working for the development of the country."

(Source: In-depth interviews)

The major barriers identified by the participants from the questionnaires can be summarized as follows. First, public bureaucracies do not provide incentives to trainees for utilizing their knowledge and skills beyond the minimal level necessary for discharging their responsibilities. The application of new ideas and practices involves risks, especially in development interventions where the outcomes are usually uncertain, so participants find it prudent to

follow the established course of action. This problem is further aggravated because the participants who try to apply their knowledge and skills are not rewarded. Nor are those who fail to use them penalized. Thus the system favors the status quo rather than change.

Second, the acute shortage of resources and support services often makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to utilize specialized knowledge and skills in many situations. This constraint seems to be more severe in agriculture than in other sectors. For example, highly trained staff in many agricultural experiment stations have few resources to do fruitful research and experimentation. Junior- and middle-level extension officials do not have access to transportation for visiting their sites. The trainees tend to become frustrated by the pervasive scarcities, which, ultimately, contribute to their indifference and inaction.

The proliferation of development projects without any coherent strategy for sustaining them is one obvious cause of severe resource constraints. The donor agencies provide physical facilities, training, and initial costs in the expectation that the host government will raise the necessary resources for maintaining the services at the termination of assistance. Such an expectation has proven to be unrealistic in the case of Nepal. In most instances, the Government barely manages to provide salaries to the staff (whom it cannot fire), let alone maintain physical facilities and support services.

Third, the trainees are not always placed in positions for which they are best qualified. Respondents cited many instances that showed a general incongruence between the areas of their specialization and the jobs they held: an agronomist conducts social research, a horticulturist manages a store, and a mass media expert performs only administrative work. Although the proportion of such mismatches is not high, their adverse effects on the morale of the trainees cannot be denied.

The fourth factor, repeatedly mentioned in open-ended responses, is that officials who lack technical, specialized knowledge in their fields dominate the higher echelons of public bureaucracies. Such officials, threatened by their better qualified junior staff, do not involve them in the decision-making process. As a result, these officials fail to formulate and implement innovative projects and programs in which the knowledge and skills of trainees could be used.

Fifth, political factors also pose barriers to utilization Participants identified some specific examples: senior positions being arbitrarily assigned on the basis of political patronage, outside interference in administrative decision-making, and the existence of powerful cliques pulling senior officials in different directions. Such factors undermine the rational decision-making process and the morale

of the qualified personnel.

Finally, the educational curriculum was not appropriate to the conditions of Nepal. Many participants stressed that their courses were geared more to the requirements of industrialized rather than of developing societies. The instructors assumed the ready availability of resources, technologies, and an institutional framework, which simply do not exist in Nepal. Thus the trainees often found it difficult to apply their knowledge and skills.

4.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Although there is undisputed evidence that the trainees use their knowledge and skills in their work settings, it should be recognized that the degree of utilization also depends on the willingness of the host country's officials and on the capabilities of its sponsoring organizations. In the case of Nepal, there are well-known barriers to utilization that cannot be overlooked. Therefore, overoptimism about the immediate impact that trainees can make upon their return to Nepal needs to be tempered.

2. Preference should be given to the selection of participants from the agencies and institutions that are in a better position to utilize the knowledge and skills of the trainees and that are willing to implement the required changes in the work environment.

3. International donor agencies should initiate a dialogue with the Nepalese Government on barriers to knowledge and skill utilization by the participants and the ways in which these barriers can be reduced, if not eliminated.

5. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GROWTH AND FUNCTIONING OF ORGANIZATIONS

One of the primary objectives of participant training programs is to contribute to the growth of viable institutions that will be managed by host country nationals, using indigenous resources, in order to foster the process of economic development. The ways in which trainees can affect the functioning and growth of an organization may be summarized as follows:

- Trainees provide new knowledge that, when adopted by other members of the organization, permits the group to solve problems and conduct operations more effectively and efficiently.

- Trainees can be role models for other personnel in the organization and can stimulate them to acquire

additional training or, at least, to benefit from the trainees' knowledge. Trainees can motivate others to function at higher and more effective levels of performance.

-- Often, because of their broader perspectives, trainees can promote interactions and synergisms that may not be obvious to those lacking such training. Trainees may be better able to see the interrelationships among parts of the organization that are less clear to those with more limited viewpoints. As a result, trainees may be especially helpful in clarifying or redefining organizational goals and in identifying more effective means of implementing these goals.

To assess systematically the contributions of trainees to development organizations, the case method was utilized. Three development organizations were selected for detailed study: the Institute of Education (IOE) (nonprofit), Agricultural Projects Services Centre (APROSC) (semigovernmental), and Family Planning/Maternity and Child Health project (FP/MCH) (governmental). These organizations represent diverse institutional perspectives of the development process in Nepal and of the role of trainees in the life of the organization. Field visits to the organizations and interviews with participant trainees and their supervisors provided data for the case studies. The overall involvement of participant trainees in these organizations is summarized in Table 4.

The data indicate that for IOE, almost all participant trainees studied in the United States, approximately three out of four studied for long terms, but less than half of those are still with the organization. For APROSC, almost all studied for long terms, the retention rate of these individuals is 100 percent, and more than half studied in countries other than the United States. For FP/MCH, less than half studied for long terms, most studied in the United States, but less than half have remained with the organization.

Table 4. Involvement of Participant Trainees in Three Organizations (percentage of total trainees)

	Number of PTs Trained	Long-Term PTs Ever Served in Organization		Long-Term PTs Currently Serving in Organization{a}		Distribution of PTs by Country of Training (%)	
Organization		No.	%	No.	%	U.S.	Others

Institute of Education	143	102	71	45	44	94	6
Agricultural Projects Services Centre	23	21	91	21	100	44	56
Family Planning/ Maternity and Child Health Project	162	68	42	31	46	83	17

Note: PTs = Participant trainees
{a} Year of investigation, 1988.

5.1 Institute of Education

In 1972 IOE became a part of the Tribhuvan University under the new structure of higher education brought about by the introduction of the National Education System Plan. Amalgamated under IOE were various colleges and centers that had previously been set up to train teachers and education specialists. Since its merger, the IOE has remained the single agency in the country exclusively responsible for producing cadres of trained teachers for schools at all levels, as well as for offering higher level courses in different subspecialties of education.

The participant training program at IOE commenced in 1955. From 1955 through 1983, 143 scholarships were awarded to the staff, including 17 to women. This constitutes 29 percent of the participant trainee scholarships extended to the education sector. During the period of study, 102 persons from IOE were trained for 1 year or more, and 45 of these still serve the organization. Since 1983, there has been no long-term involvement of IOE staff in participant training, a reflection, perhaps, of the growth of universities in Nepal. Most (86 percent) of the long-term participant trainees were trained in the United States, mainly at the University of Oregon and Southern Illinois University. Those who trained outside the United States studied in Lebanon, Israel, the Philippines, and India.

The comments listed in Box 7 indicate the impact of participant training programs on teacher training.

Box 7. Impact of Participant Training on Teacher Training

"Teacher training was a new concept for Nepalese educators in the 1950s. Participant training gave them an opportunity to understand it and its different dimensions....Knowledge of techniques of

teaching and learning helped teachers very much. Participant training familiarized the faculty at IOE with the U.S. system of education and the emerging concepts of teacher education. It helped the dissemination of new ideas and techniques in the country." -- A trainee and prominent educator

"Participant training has shown its strong impact on teacher training, curriculum development, improved methods of teaching, and techniques of evaluation." -- A trainee and former director of education

"Participant trainees in IOE significantly contributed to the growth and development of teacher education, although the nature and extent of individual contributions varied. As a dean of IOE, I...introduced many innovative programs such as the On-the-Spot Primary Teachers Training Program, Remote Area Teachers Training Program, and a one-year M.Ed. program. These programs are...most relevant to the needs and economy of the country." -- A trainee and former dean of IOE

(Source: In-depth interviews)

The data and interviews suggest that the participant trainees, despite the significant political and bureaucratic hurdles they faced, had a substantial impact on the IOE. Among the notable findings were the following:

-- Participant trainees have been involved in academic leadership through curriculum development and system reforms, in administrative leadership by holding important posts in the organizational hierarchy, and in research and extension services including refresher training. The participant training program effectively improved the roles and responsibilities of the IOE staff in all activities of the organization. By expanding, diversifying, and improving the roles of the IOE staff, the participant trainees made a notable contribution to organizational development.

-- A significant participant trainee contribution has been the establishment of the tradition of teacher training in Nepal. Another has been the promotion of educational research and innovation.

-- Participant trainees helped the IOE become the pioneering agent for educational reforms and change. However, subsequent friction between the IOE and the Ministry of Education led to the decision in the late 1970s to remove the obligatory requirement for training of teachers.

On balance, the trainees significantly affected the IOE

by demonstrating their qualifications as staff, diffusing new skills and ideas throughout the organization, facilitating linkages with other institutions, and demonstrating leadership potential in both research and administration. The interviewees offer one principal recommendation related to organizational impact: the participant training program should be tied more closely to the goals and needs of the IOE. Organizational interests rather than individual benefits should be the dominant guideline in selecting fields of study and candidates for training.

5.2 Agricultural Projects Services Centre

Despite the efforts of financial institutions to spur agricultural growth, for many years Nepal lacked an institutional response for designing the most sorely needed projects. In 1974, Nepal Rastra Bank took the initiative of organizing such an institution, which was established in 1975 as APROSC. Set up as an autonomous, semigovernmental institution, APROSC in 1976 was granted the status of a national institution under the direction of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Irrigation.

Out of a total professional staff of 96, only 23 were graduates of participant training programs. This number included two former directors of APROSC. Some excerpts from the APROSC case study, highlighted in Box 8, give an indication of the role and contribution of participant trainees.

Because only a small percentage of APROSC staff were trained by USAID/Nepal, it is difficult to assess with precision their overall role in organizational development. However, interviews with the staff, former directors, and key officials of the Ministry of Agriculture suggest the following contributions:

- -- Participants brought the needed technical expertise in key areas, notably in project planning, monitoring, and evaluation. A substantial proportion of feasibility studies, project papers, and evaluations undertaken by APROSC could not possibly have been carried out in the absence of such expertise. Over time, such skills were disseminated by the participants among the staff and were institutionalized in the organization.

- -- Because of their exposure to the U.S. system, the former directors, who had been trainees, introduced greater group participation and decentralized decision-making procedures. As a result, the managerial capacity at different levels of the organization increased notably.

- -- The trainees improved the technical quality of the

studies conducted by APROSC. Professional confidence rose, and the trainees were noted for being able to guide more

Box 8. Assessment of the Role of Participant Trainees in APROSC

"Five participant trainees [out of 10 interviewed] indicated that their contribution has been excellent and the utility of participant training has been very high. The areas identified as having very high utility were rural development, resource conservation, irrigation, soil survey, evaluation, land use planning, watershed management, and publications...."

"With regard to the benefit of participant training to the organization, three participant trainees claimed the improved quality of work as a result of training. Four participant trainees indicated the availability of expertise and trained personnel as another advantage. Two participant trainees emphasized the theoretical exposure they received, and the other two widened their intellectual horizons and grew in self-confidence."

"As a negative impact of participant training, two former chiefs (both participant trainees) stated that the individual expectations of participant trainees tended to be greater than what the organization could cope with."

(Source: Organizational case studies)

than one study at a time. The level of available expertise, especially problem-solving ability, increased because of the contribution of some participants.

In offering recommendations about how the participant trainees could make a greater organizational impact, the interviewees noted several points that have already been cited in this report. First and foremost, professionals should be trained in response to APROSC's specific needs. To accomplish this, better coordination between APROSC and USAID/Nepal in identifying organizational requirements and selecting appropriate candidates as participant trainees is needed. Second, training programs that do not lead to an academic degree often fail to elicit serious students, and such programs are thought to be less prestigious. Programs should grant degrees in order to attract the most highly qualified candidates, who will then maximize their organizational impact. Third, upon completion of the training program, the personnel must contractually agree to take up their assignments in the institution.

5.3 Family Planning/Maternity and Child Health Project

The Family Planning/Maternity Child and Health project (FP/MCH), established in the Ministry of Health in 1968, is a Government agency responsible for the provision of family planning and maternal health services in the country. It has a four-tiered organizational structure: central, regional, and district offices, and village-level clinics.

USAID/Nepal has played a crucial role in the project since its inception. In addition to providing staff training abroad, the Mission has given support for expert team visits, short- and long-term consultants, and field research and evaluation. As was indicated earlier, 162 FP/MCH participants, of whom 68 were long-term participant trainees, had, by the end of 1984, taken part in several different programs. Major fields of training were public health, sociology, demography/population, family planning, management, evaluation, and information sciences.

The case study indicates that the participants made significant contributions to the following areas:

1. In the past, the project had largely depended on staff, including participant trainees who had trained outside Nepal, for its planning, research, and evaluation activities. At the time of the study, virtually all the staff in this section were participant trainees.

Participant trainees have been involved in undertaking feasibility studies, evaluations of ongoing activities and programs, and, above all, statistical data collection and analysis. Since 1976, the FP/MCH Project has initiated several national surveys on fertility, contraceptive use, and family planning. The trainees assumed leadership roles in all such surveys and were responsible from initial planning to report writing.

2. The contribution of the trainees has been equally profound in the area of information, education, and communication. At the time of the case study, the six trainees working in this section were involved in disseminating family planning and health information through publications, public meetings, and the media.

As a result of these activities, knowledge about family planning has significantly increased throughout Nepal. For example, only 22 percent of the married couples surveyed were aware of family planning in 1976, but by 1986 the percentage had risen to 56 percent. At least part of the credit goes to the activities of the FP/MCH project and therefore to the trainees.

3. Finally, the participants have been active in the training of trainers. In fact, several participant trainee

staff members received instruction as trainers, and interviews reveal that they have contributed richly to the establishment and functioning of programs that have trained the field staff. Participant trainees have also introduced innovative training programs by developing manuals and handouts, revisig old curricula, improving indoor and outdoor presentations, and monitoring posttraining follow-ups.

The comments in Box 9 highlight the contributions participant trainees have made to the FP/MCH project.

Box 9. Contribution of the Participant Trainees to the FP/MCH Project

"The FP/MCH has the best personnel in Nepal with the possible exception of Agriculture. Some are even overtrained there....Their influence in decision-making and priority-setting at the higher levels is negligible, but the contributions of participant trainees in the fields of immunization, nutrition and child health, and other preventive and control programs have been substantial. Thus the participant training has its own share in institution building." -- A leading family planning specialist

"The FP/MCH project has an abundance of skilled staff because of participant training. Some of the trainees are highly competent by any international standard. Because of them, the reports and publications of FP/MCH are recognized and sought after by foreign experts. Some participant trainees have been playing leading roles in international organizations. FP/MCH is helping other sister organizations as well in their family planning programs by imparting training.

The problem with FP/MCH is that it has not been able to retain participant trainees as it is not able to fulfill their expectations....Participant trainees have substantially helped the organization in developing its professionalism and managerial capacity....Their contribution to the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of family planning programs has been substantial." -- Chief of the FP/MCH project

(Source: In-depth interviews)

5.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

These case studies lead to a set of generalizations about the impact of participant trainees on organizational behavior. Participant trainees have clearly played important roles in the organizations they serve. Of the organizations

studied, most present and former directors were participant trainees. IOE has been continuously headed by a participant trainee. Participant trainees have held most lead positions in the planning and operational areas. Among the contributions made by participant trainees to their respective organizations, foremost is the supply of trained cadres to staff programs, projects, and activities. Participant trainees have helped create a workable personnel base that not only has enabled these organizations to carry out their traditional functions more effectively but also improved their internal strength and confidence. As a result, the organizations are able to develop new plans and programs and to experiment with ideas that reflect the changing needs of Nepal's societal development. That these organizations have markedly reduced their reliance on external support to develop program plans and strategies and now instead rely on participant trainees to provide much of this capability is another major consequence of the program.

The pool of participant trainees has in turn created an internal capability for training. Specialized training programs, seminars, workshops, and orientation sessions are now routinely conducted within these organizations because of the contributions and experiences of the participant trainees. In addition, the growth in research and evaluation conducted by these organizations has been significant because participant trainees instructed others on how to carry out these activities effectively and demonstrated to their colleagues the value of such activities to the organization.

This is not to say that the organizations populated with participant trainees are free of problems. Some, such as IOE, have had political difficulties that the participant trainees could not overcome. Others, like the FP/MCH, suffer from chronic morale problems because their charters do not permit granting job security to their professional staff.

What is consistently apparent in these case studies is that the participant trainees raise the level of skills, the professionalism of the work ethic, the quality of the organization's standards, and the sensitivity to the need for continuous training. This is no small achievement. It seems highly likely that in the absence of the participant training program, these organizations would be operating at far lower levels of technical sophistication and operational efficiency than they are today.

6. PARTICIPANT TRAINING AND WOMEN

Women play a major role in the traditional economy of Nepal. Their role is especially critical to family farm enterprises, where they contribute 67 percent (as against 33 percent by men) of all the labor input. Yet they have been consistently ignored in development projects and programs. Only recently have the national planners and international

donor agencies realized that the country cannot mobilize its human resources to meet the basic needs of a growing populace without the active and enthusiastic participation of women in development activities.

6.1 Proportion of Women in Training Programs

The Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal data presented in Table 5 show that women have been grossly underrepresented in training programs abroad. Of the 1,505 trainees for which gender data were available, only 131 were women, or somewhat less than 9 percent of the total.

Table 5. Number and Percentages of Male and Female Participants

	Male		Female		
Field of Specialization	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Agriculture and Natural Resources	859	(99)	7	(1)	866
Industry and Trade	42	(100)	0	(0)	42
Transportation	38	(95)	2	(5)	40
Health and Sanitation	155	(65)	84	(35)	239
Education	174	(83)	35	(17)	209
Public Administration	63	(98)	1	(2)	64
Community Development	43	(96)	2	(4)	45
Total	1,374		131		1,505

Several factors shed light on this phenomenon. First, the development community in the past failed to recognize the important role that Nepalese women play in the economic arena. As a result, experts did not design and implement projects that had a substantial focus on women. Because trainees were usually selected with reference to their potential contribution to projects, the opportunities for training for women were severely limited. For example, agriculture and natural resource initiatives failed to focus on women so only seven were trained in this sector.

It is indeed revealing that only in the two sectors of health and sanitation and education were women a substantial proportion of the trainees. The explanation is simple: many projects and programs in these sectors were targeted toward women and children. The rapid expansion of health, sanitation, and family planning activities required nurses and health care workers -- two professions largely restricted to women. In the education sector, too, particularly primary

education, women instructors were needed for training teachers. Therefore, quite a few women were selected for higher education -- in the United States, for the most part.

Second, there existed -- and continues to exist -- sociocultural barriers to the foreign education of women. Most middle class families did not approve of young women going to a foreign country unaccompanied by a male member of the household. As one respondent explained: "Even 10 years ago, it required great courage on the part of a family to permit its unmarried daughter to go for higher education in India, much less the United States. It simply meant that the family would face serious problems in finding a suitable match for the daughter." In the case of married women, husbands generally did no wish their wives to go abroad and leave the responsibility for the entire family on their shoulders. A respondent stated stated in an interview that because he did not have time to look after his children, he persuaded his wife to give up a chance to study in the United States. This was by no means an isolated instance. There was a pervasive reluctance on the part of Nepalese authorities to select and send young women for training outside the country.

Third, opportunities for higher education were practically nonexistent for women until the mid-1960s. Only a few women belonging to upper-middle class families had higher education. Thus, only a very small pool of educated women was eligible for training outside Nepal. Moreover, there was a widespread feeling among the ruling elites that if women were selected for training abroad, most of them would not pursue their professional careers because of family responsibilities. Therefore the whole investment would be wasted.

Finally, in the past -- and to a large extent even now -- women held only a small percentage of the administrative and technical Government positions from which the trainees were selected. In many ministries and departments such as agriculture, transportation, industry, and mining, few if any women employees possessed minimum qualifications for training abroad. As one senior official explained: "Twenty years ago, even if you wanted a token representation [of women] in major ministries, you would not have succeeded." Box 10 gives excerpts from interviews about the reasons for the poor representation of women in participant training activities.

Analysis of the Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal data also reveals that the proportion of women participants has declined slightly over time. In fact, as Figure 5 indicates, their percentage was the lowest during the 1975 to 1984 period; only 25 women out of 562 participants (4 percent) received training during this period. In the previous decade, 12 percent of the participant trainees were women, and between 1955 and 1964, the figure was 14 percent. However, as a result of concerted efforts by USAID/Nepal, the proportion of women trainees has significantly improved in recent years. USAID/Nepal now

reserves at least 25 percent of the slots for them.

Box 10. Reasons for Low Representation of Women

"Women's participation in training is low because they lack encouragement. Vocal sympathy is not enough. Strong social taboos and cultural values are against them. They get less opportunities for education, training, and jobs as compared to men." -- A social worker

"Women lag behind in respect to training for the simple reason that there are few in Government services. The age-old social and cultural practices have conspired against women, making them educationally backward." -- A woman administrator

"The obvious reason for very limited participation of women is their limited availability. The few who are available cannot compete with men. It is not due to cultural discrimination that women's participation in out-of-country activities is low." -- A policymaker

(Source: In-depth interviews)

6.2 Impact of Training on Psychological Orientation

Women and men participant trainees reported that the training experience affected their beliefs, values, and general attitudes. They identified five major types of psychological orientation that were significantly affected by their education abroad. The data are presented in Table 6.

The table does not indicate any significant differences between men and women trainees. An overwhelming majority of both reported that training greatly promoted their self-confidence, broadened their outlook, and fostered a scientific outlook.

Table 6. Effects of Training on Psychological Orientation of Men and Women

Orientation	Great Effect		Moderate Effect		No Effects	
	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women
Self-confidence	79	78	18	22	3	-
Broader Outlook	70	78	28	19	2	3
New Ways of Dealing						

With People	48	59	46	37	6	4
Scientific Outlook	63	59	35	41	2	-
Inquisitiveness	54	56	43	41	3	3

It is interesting that social scientists regard the five types of psychological orientation emphasized by the trainees as constituting the essence of a "modernity syndrome," which is conducive to social and economic changes in tradition-bound societies. Box 11 provides excerpts from interviews with women trainees.

The psychological effects were apparently caused not only by pedagogic training but by an exposure to a new society, a different culture with a different value system. The trainees were invariably impressed by what they observed in their wider environment and often reflected upon it. As one respondent succinctly put it: "I learned a great deal from the courses I took, but this was not as important as what I learned by observing the

Box 11. Effects of Training on Psychological Orientation

"My stay in the United States was both educative and challenging. I learned a great deal. In the beginning I was too timid to ask questions, even when I did not follow lectures and assignments. But soon I found that students were not afraid to ask questions or express their opinions. I was very much impressed. Our traditional upbringing does not foster a sense of self-confidence among women, who are expected to be subservient. America is different."

"Participant training has also given me an opportunity to be exposed to a new system of education. The teaching and learning environment in the United States is quite different from that of Nepal. There the learner has to be more active....It is a learner- rather than a teacher-centered system of education."

"It broadened my mental horizon. I was very much impressed by Western objectivity, dedication, efficiency, and sense of responsibility."

"My own impression is that the exposure to American life fosters a spirit of equality and dignity for men and women."

American university system and the wider society." Thus the women trainees learned much more than they had bargained for; they absorbed values, beliefs, and attitudes that affected

their social and professional lives.

6.3 Effects of Participant Training on Careers of Men and Women

Table 7 presents comparative data about the perceived effects of training on the careers of men and women. The data suggest that a much smaller proportion of women than men regarded as "great" the impact of training on their careers. However, these data relate to perceived and not actual effects. It is therefore quite possible that the effects were largely similar, but that the perceptions of men and women trainees differed for some reason. For example, women may have had higher expectations than their male counterparts, and when these did not materialize, they may have underrated the effects of training on their careers.

Table 7. Perceived Effects of Training on the Careers of Male and Female Participants

	High		Moderate		No Effect		
	No. of Participants	%	No. of Participants	%	No. of Participants	%	Total
Men	263	80	47	14	19	6	329
Women	16	59	11	41	--	--	27

Two other factors can also explain this finding. First, the survey sample largely included nurses, public health professionals, and family planning workers, who were either nondegree scholars or received only bachelor's degrees. Such participants were largely involved in providing needed services at the grassroots level. Because not many supervisory positions required graduate degrees, the opportunities for career advancement for such trainees were rather limited. Only a few could rise. That several women during the interview suggested that they would have obtained their present positions even had they not received training abroad indirectly confirms this hypothesis.

Second, although the Government follows a policy of equal opportunity for men and women, subtle forms of discrimination do seem to exist. Therefore it is quite possible that men received the preferential treatment that the data reflect. In any case, practically all women trainees believed that the training had effects, presumably positive ones, on their careers.

6.4 Knowledge and Skills Utilization

Table 8 presents the comparative data about the degree of knowledge and skills utilization for men and women participants. It shows that a majority of women were only moderately able to utilize the knowledge and skills acquired during their training. Moreover, the extent of utilization is slightly lower for women than for men. In view of the small size of the sample, evaluators have to be extremely cautious in taking these findings at face value.

Table 8. Knowledge and Skills Utilization by Male and Female Trainees

	High		Moderate		No Effect		
	No. of Participants	%	No. of Participants	%	No. of Participants	%	Total
Men	55	17	237	72	37	11	329
Women	2	7	23	85	2	7	27

In informal interviews, a few women participants indicated that, in general, they were not fairly treated. The tasks tasks given to them were dull and simple; their assignments provided no challenge and required little initiative or skill, reflecting a belief among certain segments of the male-dominated bureaucracy that women tended to "join the service in order to pass their time away from home" and often lacked drive and ambition.

6.5 Suggestions of Key Policy- and Decision-Makers

The Nepalese policy- and decision-making community widely agrees that efforts should be made to increase the participation of women in training programs abroad. A majority of the officials and educators interviewed for the study recommended that a fixed proportion of fellowships be reserved for women. Many felt that women will continue to remain underrepresented unless they are given preferential treatment.

Several officials and educators favored specialized training programs for women. Such programs could focus on fields in which qualified women were not available at present, and they could be located in neighboring countries where the costs for higher education are not exorbitant so that a large number of women could be trained. Finally, the respondents suggested that, ultimately, a solution lies in promoting education for women and recruiting more women at

middle and higher levels of government in the country.

7. THIRD COUNTRY TRAINING

One of the features of the participant training program in Nepal has been its focus on third country training. Simply defined, third country training means that a participant is trained not in the donor or home country but in one that is, for various reasons, considered suitable for training purposes. Strictly speaking, third country training is not necessarily training in third world nations, although this was the case with Nepal. Nepal is perhaps the only country in which the majority of the A.I.D.-sponsored participants were not trained in the United States but in other countries, primarily in India. This section focuses on the role of third countries in participant training programs in Nepal and explores whether there were significant differences between U.S. and third country training.

7.1 Extent of Third Country Training

The analysis of the Directory of Participant Trainees in Nepal data indicate that nearly two-thirds of the Nepalese participants were trained in third countries, and almost half of them received their training in India. Figure 6 depicts the percentages of Nepalese trainees in the United States, India, and "other countries." The category of "other countries" includes the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Pakistan, Vietnam, and Lebanon.

From the 1960s through the early 1980s, a plurality of the trainees (741 out of a total of 1,530) went to India. In the 1960s, as a result of its Public Law (PL) 480 food assistance program, the United States had accumulated huge funds in Indian currency, some of which were made available to USAID/Nepal. The Mission decided to use a part of these funds to launch a massive program for training abroad to meet Nepal's growing personnel needs. A majority of the trainees who went to India received undergraduate education in agriculture, rural development, and health.

It should be recognized that the USAID/Nepal did not have to choose between the United States and India inasmuch as the PL 480 funds could only be used in India. The Mission had access to separate funds with which to send people to the United States and other countries.

Education in India provided some distinct advantages to the trainees. First, the social and cultural systems of India are similar to those of Nepal. The Nepalese language is also very similar to Hindi, which is spoken by a majority of the people of northern India. Moreover, Hinduism is the dominant religion in both countries. Thus the Nepalese trainees felt at home and did not have to adjust to a very

different culture. Second, because of the physical proximity, traveling to and from India did not pose serious problems. The trainees did not need visas and could return home during their vacations. Married trainees could take their spouses with them even when the grant did not provide for it. Finally, the educational system of the two countries is virtually the same. Indeed, Nepal's educational system was patterned after India's. Consequently, participants adjusted very easily.

Table 9 presents comparative data about the level of satisfaction of the trainees with the United States, India, and other countries. A slightly higher percentage of the participants trained in the United States were more satisfied than those studying in India and other countries. In informal interviews and answers to open-ended questions, many third country trainees suggested that, although they were satisfied with the country in which they trained, given the choice they would have preferred to study in the United States.

Table 9. Level of Satisfaction With Country of Training

	Satisfied		Indifferent		Dissatisfied		
Country	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	Total
United States	140	97	5	3	-	-	145
India	146	88	17	10	4	2	167
Others	37	84	5	11	2	5	44
Total	323		27		6		356

Note: No. refers to number of trainees.

7.2 Comparisons Between the Effects of U.S. and Third Country Training

Were there major differences between the overall effects of U.S. and third country training? Although evaluation studies did not explore this question in depth, the survey data provide a comparison as to the effects of training with reference to three variables -- career advancement, psychological orientation, and skill utilization.

Table 10 presents comparative data about the effects of training on careers as reported by the trainees themselves. It indicates that the percentage of trainees in the "highly favorable" category is highest for India, although the difference between India and the United States is almost

negligible. Thus two findings are clear: first, the effects of Indian training were the same as, if not better than, those from U.S. training; and second, apart from India, third country training had less favorable effects compared with U.S. training. In interpreting the above findings, it should be noted that the data refer to the perceptions of trainees, which may not fully reflect the objective reality.

Table 10. Perceived Effects on Careers by Country of Training

Effects	United States No.	(%)	India No.	(%)	Others No.	(%)	Total
Highly Favorable	113	78	136	81	30	68	279
Moderately Favorable	24	17	25	15	9	20	58
Unfavorable	8	6	6	4	5	11	19
Total	145		167		44		356

Note: No. refers to number of trainees

The first finding is not as surprising as it may appear. As was indicated earlier, a high proportion of the Indian-trained participants during the 1960s and 1970s consisted of recent high school or intermediate school graduates. Their careers began with their Indian training. Such trainees were inclined to perceive the effects of their training in a more positive light than those who were already employed. Moreover, Indian training particularly in agriculture and particularly in agricultural, was more geared to the needs of Nepal and so may have helped in the trainees' career advancement.

The second finding is consistent with the widespread feeling that third country training is generally not as beneficial to career advancement as is U.S. training. Several reasons commonly mentioned are that U.S. training is of better quality, it carries greater prestige and recognition and trainees learn many new concepts from their exposure to U.S. culture. These points are discussed in more detail below.

Data on the effects of training on psychological orientations, by country, are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Trainees Reporting Great Effects on Psychological Orientations by Country of Training

Orientation	United States (n = 145) No.	(%)	India (n = 167) No.	(%)	Others (n = 44) No.	(%)
Self-Confidence	113	78	136	81	31	70
Broader Outlook	108	74	114	68	30	68
New Ways of Dealing With People	71	49	87	52	16	36
Scientific Outlook	81	56	118	71	24	55
Inquisitiveness	79	54	89	53	24	55

No consistent patterns are discernible for all the psychological orientations. The table indicates that with regard to three orientations -- "self-confidence," "new ways of dealing with people," and "scientific outlook" -- the percentages of the trainees reporting "great effects" is the highest for India, followed by the United States. Only with regard to "broader outlook" does the highest percentage of respondents come from the U.S.-trained participants. An altogether opposite picture might have been expected: more U.S.-trained participants reporting great impacts than their Indian-trained counterparts.

Several factors should be considered in interpreting these finding. First, the difference in percentages between the two countries is small and in two cases almost insignificant. Second, participants who trained in India were, on average, considerably younger than those who received their training in the United States. Thus the participant trainees in India were more susceptible to the influence of their educational environment and pedagogic training than the others. Third, the duration of the stay abroad was longer for the Indian-trained participants.

When U.S. and other country participants are compared, we find that a higher proportion of the former reported great effects for all but one variable.

Finally, Table 12 provides comparative data about the trainees' extent of knowledge and skills utilization, by the country in which they were trained. In the case of knowledge and skills utilization, no major differences can be discerned. A majority of the trainees, irrespective of the country of training, indicated moderate levels of utilization.

Table 12. Utilization of Knowledge and Skills,

by Country of Training

Extent	United States No.	(%)	India No.	(%)	Others No.	(%)	Total
High	25	17	26	16	8	18	59
Moderate	107	74	122	73	31	70	260
Negligible	13	9	19	11	5	11	37
Total	145		167		44		356

Note: No. refers to number of trainees.

On the whole, the findings are inconclusive. No valid generalizations can be made except that there are not major differences between U.S. and third country training with regard to career advancement, psychological orientation, and the extent of knowledge and skills utilization.

The above findings should not necessarily be construed as indicating that the participants who trained in the United States and third countries played the same roles or made similar contributions. As was indicated earlier, during the 1960s and 1970s USAID/Nepal had a policy of sending trainees for undergraduate education to India or third countries. For graduate and advanced education, participant trainees were sent to the United States, and they thus possessed at least undergraduate degrees and occupied middle- or senior-level positions in Government agencies. Therefore the U.S.-trained participants were, as a group, assigned more senior and challenging positions and responsibilities than their counterparts trained in India or third countries. It is not without significance that some of the most outstanding participants who made important contributions to the development of Nepal received their education in the United States.

7.3 Overall Assessment of Third Country Training

The development community in Nepal shares the view that the Mission's policy of sending a majority of its trainees to third countries was sound and produced positive results. One advantage of third country training, stressed repeatedly during interviews, is that the knowledge and skills acquired by trainees can be readily applied in Nepal. The thread of the argument runs as follows. Curricula of training programs in the United States (or other industrialized nations) reflect that country's own experience and problems. Although efforts are made to meet the special needs of foreign students, they are not always successful, so that participants' knowledge and skills are less attuned to the needs of Nepal. The situation is different in many South and Southeast Asian nations. Because these nations share similar social and economic institutions and face similar problems, their educational programs tend to focus on the subjects, technologies,

and skills that are more relevant to the conditions in Nepal.

Several examples were cited to illustrate this point. A senior agricultural specialist noted that Nepalese students gained a better understanding of agricultural problems in Indian rather than in U.S. universities, primarily because agriculture in the United States is highly mechanized. Another expert pointed out that family planning training in India proved most useful to Nepalese because of the marked social and cultural affinity of the two countries. The staff trained in India were better prepared than those trained elsewhere to deal with young women of childbearing age raised in traditional households.

Second, the participants trained in third countries encounter fewer "reentry" problems than those educated in the United States. Several policymakers noted that higher education in the United States breeds unrealistic expectations Many trainees begin to expect too much and seek resources and support that their counterparts in more developed countries enjoy. When their expectations are not fulfilled, they become frustrated and alienated. However, third country participants learn to operate within a more resource-constrained environment. Of them, one observer stated, "Their feet are firmly on the ground and not in the sky....They easily adjust themselves to their work situations."

Finally, and probably most significant, third country training is highly economical. The cost of U.S. higher education is constantly escalating. USAID/Nepal spends between $50,000 and $100,000 to support an M.A. candidate and two to three times more to support a Ph.D. student in a U.S. university. For the same amount, three or four participants can receive similar training in Asian educational institutions.

In sharp contrast, several respondents stressed the strengths of U.S. compared with third country training. First, the U.S. universities and institutions provide better training because they tend to have more qualified instructors and better equipped facilities and research laboratories. Also, they have developed effective support systems to cater to the needs of foreign students. Several respondents who studied in both a third country and the United States were unequivocal about the overall superiority of the latter. As one senior policymaker explained: "Quality of U.S. training compares favorably with the third country training. Most of the training programs in third countries are patterned after U.S. programs, but the imitation cannot be as good as the original."

Second, participants suggested that U.S. training is more likely to expose trainees to modern social and political institutions and a highly productive economic system than is third country training. However, the data presented above provide only limited support for this argument.

Finally, U.S. training serves this country's national interests. Practically all the funds spent on training participants are channeled back to the national economy. Universities and educational institutions benefit from overseas students. The trainees acquire an understanding and appreciation of U.S. society and culture and often develop positive feelings toward this country.

Senior policymakers and educators generally agree that both U.S. and third country training are desirable and even necessary in the case of Nepal. The question is not of choosing between them but of striking a proper balance by keeping their comparative advantages and resource constraints in mind.

7.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Third country training contributed to tremendous growth in the numbers of technical staff in Nepal at a time when the country was facing a severe shortage of trained personnel in key sectors of the economy. Many major development initiatives in agriculture, health education, rural development, and family planning would not have been implemented without participant training in third countries.

2. Third country training, preferably in India and other neighboring countries, offers several obvious advantages to Nepal. The knowledge and technical skills acquired in these countries are usually more relevant to the needs of Nepal's agrarian economy than are skills learned in the United States. Moreover, the trainees on their return do not encounter the type of culture shock as do their counterparts who were trained in the United States. Finally, USAID/Nepal can train many more participants in third countries than in the United States for the same amount of money. However, there are reasons to believe that the quality of the third country training is not as good as that in the United States. Moreover, in many advanced fields such as computers, management, information sciences, environmental sciences, and genetics, only the United States can provide the required training.

3. A prudent mix of third country and U.S. training is needed in the case of Nepal. Three general recommendations can be made in this connection. First, senior and better educated persons should be selected for U.S. training, and the younger and less qualified students for third countries. Second, participants should go to the United States for graduate training or postdoctoral training. Third, training in the United States should be restricted to only highly advanced, specialized fields. Subjects such as agriculture, rural development, forestry, education, and project and program administration can be taught in third countries.

8. USAID/NEPAL TRAINING PROGRAMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEPAL

This synthesis has drawn on three major evaluation reports involving hundreds of interviews with trainees and their coworkers, case studies of particular institutions, and background information on Nepal's social, economic, and political structure. It is clear from what has been presented above that, indeed, a good deal has been achieved.

8.1 Positive Impact of Training

There is no doubt that the various participant training programs have, over several decades, introduced large numbers of highly trained people into the Nepalese society. This contribution has had important ripple effects throughout the country. As the discussions above document, in the 1950s Nepal had neither enough trained people nor enough education and training institutions to produce the skilled personnel needed to carry out its development goals and activities. Whether in education, agriculture, family planning, community development, transportation, or other sectors, Nepal lacked the skilled work force necessary to do the job. The USAID/Nepal participant training programs have helped fill that gap.

The net effect of the infusion of thousands of trained personnel into a poor and struggling society is to inject considerable life into the country's institutions, which, in turn, has created important multiplier effects far beyond the aggregate efforts of the individuals involved. Examples of these effects were reported in the studies of the IOE and the FP/MHC. New organizations, centered on the expertise and the ideas of the highly trained personnel, have been created. Older organizations have been infused with new ideas, novel approaches to problem solving, new specialized skills, and different attitudes toward the work ethic and the idea of meritocracy. In short, the impact of the participant training programs has been significant in terms of institution building and this, no doubt, is an important step forward in the economic, social, and political development of the country.

Besides better trained personnel and new and stronger institutions, the participant training program has served as a catalyst for ideas and skills that challenge prevailing wisdom. They may not produce immediate, tangible results. But they are a necessary condition for the development process to take hold. In this context, therefore, the USAID/Nepal participant training program has in the past been an important source for the country's social and political modernization.

Together, the introduction of highly skilled people, the building of institutions, and the diffusion of new ideas and skills into the society brings about a fourth and critically

important contribution of the participant training program: the formulation of innovative policies and programs. The participant training program has had two major effects on the policymaking process. First, it has provided many of the good ideas and approaches that bureaucrats and policymakers at higher levels can use to formulate more effective and efficient policies and programs. Second, the vast majority of the participant trainees themselves return to the governmental sector and become the very decision-makers who can carry out the new policies. It should be recognized that considerable numbers of participants have been trained not only in substantive fields, such as crop intensity, modern education techniques, and contraceptive practices, but also in the methods of modern management, policymaking, and public administration needed to implement contemporary policies.

In short, the dominant conclusion is that Nepalese economic development -- as modest as it has been in national terms -- would have been far less without massive participant training programs supported by USAID/Nepal over the past three decades.

8.2 Lessons Learned

Some of the major findings of this evaluation have implications for participant training in other countries. These are briefly mentioned below.

1. The individuals selected for training abroad may not reflect the population as a whole. In terms of education, socioeconomic background, and geography, participants may be drawn from the more elite groups of the society. Women, in particular, may be markedly underrepresented. Therefore efforts should be made to develop selection procedures that would tap a more representative cross-section of the country.

2. Sponsoring agencies are often not prepared for the return of their personnel from training in other countries. Therefore, Missions should discuss with the agencies their plans for placement of participants and, to the extent possible, ensure that on their return they have appointments commensurate with their skills and experience. This may reduce the "reentry problems" that many participants experience.

3. Missions should place greater emphasis on recruiting from and placing individuals in the private sector. In the past most of the resources have gone to the public sector. Such a focus will be consistent with the new A.I.D. policy to encourage private enterprise in developing countries.

4. Third country training is often equal to or more effective than training in the United States. On the one hand, as the example of Nepal shows, such training is more relevant to the needs of host countries, is cost-effective, and involves minimal culture shock for the trainees. On the

other hand, it should be recognized that high-quality training for many specialties can only be provided in the United States. Therefore efforts should be made to strike a reasonable balance between the United States and third country training.

5. For training programs designed to assist development organizations, efforts should be made to provide training in management in addition to the required technical fields such as agriculture or engineering. The experience of Nepal shows that because of the lack of appropriate management skills and viable institutional environments, the knowledge and skills of the trainees are not always properly utilized. Management training can partly alleviate this problem.

6. Missions should develop and maintain close working relationships with participant trainee graduates. This can be accomplished by holding seminars, discussions, and annual meetings to which the participant trainees are invited. A newsletter reporting the activities of past and current trainees can also be published if the number of participant trainees is sufficiently large.

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